1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

slopes of the Andes on the east. This area is characterized by many picturesquely rounded hills, no one of which rises very high above sea level. Throughout much of the year one may see in the distance as many as eight snow-capped volcanic peaks on the eastern horizon, among them the renowned Llaima and Villarica. One outstanding feature of this zone is the Cautín River Valley, and another is the valley of the Cholchol. The Cholchol River and its tributaries flow through much of the region under study, and at Neuva Imperial the Cholchol joins the main branch of the Cautín (Map 2).

Most of the trade contacts of Cautinche, Carrarriñe, and Renaco are with the Chilean community at Cholchol, which can be reached by unimproved dirt roads. A considerable amount of traffic goes by oxcart in dry weather, but in the rainy winter months travel is limited to horseback. Many transactions also take place in Nueva Imperial, which is a much larger commercial center than Cholchol. This city may be reached in the usual fashion, except for the need of crossing the Cholchol River at Los Boldos (Map 2). A flat raft, pulled hand over hand along a steel cable by passengers and "crew" (Pl. V, Fig. 2), makes necessary crossings, except when the river is in flood. Nueva Imperial is situated on the branch line of a railroad that connects with the main line at Temuco, a thriving frontier city of more than 40,000 inhabitants, which is the capital of Cautín Province and is the largest business center in the territory under consideration. Indians from many neighboring reservations visit Temuco regularly, and in fair weather it can be reached from Cholchol by horseback in four to five hours and by oxcart in less than a day. A few trucks and an occasional automobile travel between Cholchol and Temuco with passengers and freight, when road conditions permit. In May, 1948, members of the Temuco flying club began to provide occasional air service to and from Cholchol in a small, single-engined plane. A large crowd gathered on the town's soccer field (Pl. VI, Fig. 2) to watch the landing of the plane when Miss Dorothea Royce, head of the Misión Araucana's hospital, became the first passenger to fly out of Cholchol. Thereafter, for the few who could avail themselves of the service, Cholchol became only fifteen

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

421 and livestock, which as a rule were not, or could not by right be, sold by her husband without her consent (Moesbach, ibid.). There is no trace among the *Araucanians* of the system of periodic allotment of gardening land that is found in some communities of the Highland of Bolivia and Perú and probably of the Piedmont of far northern Chile (McBride, 1936, pp. 309, 364).

428 **Inheritance.**—Here, too, information is late, meager, and lacking in detail. A man's property was inherited by his sons, according to Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876, p. 141). When an older man (father or other) was near death, all his blood kin came in together, and he distributed some of his property to each, and the residue to his children, or, if there were no children, to his brothers and other near blood kin (Havestadt, 1883, 2:621; Molina, 1901, p. 122). (On inheritance of wives, see supra under Marriage and Family.)

437 **Exchange.**—Barter by exchange of presents was common—the donor giving with the expectation of a return from the recipient. (Febrés, 1882, s.v. thùiln; Havestadt, 1883, pp. 616–17; Smith, 1855, pp. 258, 292.) Havestadt states (1883, 2:700) that llancas (llaŋkas) were used to purchase necessities as well as to compensate for murders, and Molina (1901, p. 184) reports a sort of conventional tariff of "payments" (kullin) consisting of a horse or bridle as "one payment," an ox as "two payments," etc, but a more specific currency was absent. Some plain barter, but not so much, was carried on by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* among themselves. They carried on a considerable "foreign" trade with, e.g., the *Puelche* for salt, bezoars, feathers, etc.; with the Spanish, selling ponchos and livestock for wine and miscellaneous merchandise. There were no established markets or market days, although Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 124) states that the "public gardens," that is, the open grounds set aside and used for assemblies and feasts, served as places for buying and selling goods and women—incidentally, no doubt, to civic or social gatherings therein.

[434]

476 **Labor.**—Some kinds of work, such as constructing houses and sowing and harvesting, were done by voluntary communal or group labor. The individual would invite his kin and neighbors to help. No payment was made to them for their labor, but at the end he would usually provide a good feast with plenty of chicha, and he in turn would, of course, be expected to help when one of them had similar need.

462 To the man fell the tasks of felling trees and clearing the ground for gardens, attending cattle and horses, hunting, cutting wood, all woodworking, constructing huts, corrals and other enclosures, fishing and navigating, carrying on military activities, and making weapons and tools. The woman's work included cultivating the garden, preparing and cooking food, making fermented beverages, caring for the younger children, collecting wild plant foods, spinning, weaving of blankets and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and weaving basketry.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Araucanians have never had any currency. Chilean currency is used today; in fact it has become a necessity. It is needed to buy from Chileans necessities not produced by the family, such as men's and boys' clothing—including hats and shoes, if there is sufficient money; calico for women's and girls' waists or entire dresses, if the native dress (kapam) is no longer worn by them; cloth for aprons; tools; dishes and cooking kettles; commercial dyes; sugar; occasionally wheat or flour. "Even the poor must sell some of their produce to buy these." If a large amount of chicha is needed, as at fiestas, baptisms, ruka building, and harvesting—where it is considered an essential—it, too, is bought from Chileans. 436

Money is obtained by supplying Chilean needs. Cattle and sheep, and, on occasions, hogs, oxen, and horses, are sold to non-Araucanian livestock dealers, mostly Chilean, who can be expected to come through the area at any time. In Alepúe area (1946) I was offered a good riding horse at the prevailing price, approximately 450 pesos ($15.00 in U. S. currency). Occasionally a family sells chickens; more often, if there is an opportunity, eggs. Eggs are used only as a subsidiary in cooking by Araucanians; chicken meat is the base for several dishes. 437

In Alepúe area a man delivered fish and other seafoods taken from the Pacific along a trade route he had established for himself, or he peddled them from house to house among Chileans in San José de Mariquina or Valdivia, or at fundos in the area. A few men dealt with Araucanian fish dealers on a commission basis; these dealers live in town and resell the fish to merchants in Valdivia. Fish sold are corbina, sierra, and robalo. Two edible algae taken from the Pacific are also marketable, namely luche and cochayuyo. A 35-year-old man and his 51-year-old sister pointed to a day's work, a 6-foot-high pile of standard-sized bundles of cochayuyo. Each bundle was 18 inches long and could be encircled by two hands. They intended to sell these in Valdivia the following day. Shellfish, called loico, mañihue, and macha, and in July and August a special delicacy called arisco, have commercial value if they can be marketed within a day after they are collected.

The leaves of the fiocha were sold to Chileans by Alepúe men for rope manufacture, and nuts of the araucaria by Cofiaripe men, to be eaten. After a good harvest, many sell wheat. Some families sell dried peas and beans.

Woven articles are sold to Chilean stores or to non-Araucanians who order them; chief among the articles are ponchos, choapinos (saddle covers), lamas (throws), and blankets. Early one morning a 21-year-old man asked me to buy a lama—he was en route on horse-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

439 back to a landing on the Pacific from which a boat was to sail for Valdivia and was in need of fare money. His grandmother had woven this lama, and a pack of others that he was taking to Valdivia to sell. He thought this one of the prettiest, for his grandmother had used only natural dyes in it; the others she had dyed with commercial dyes. If I did not buy it, he said, he would leave it with the captain of the boat to guarantee his fare until his return trip when he would have money. He had no choapino to sell.

Choapino, because of their bright colors and interesting designs, are favored by purchasers. Weavers, however, find them costly articles to produce—bright-colored dyes must be bought in Chilean stores, and, also, much wool is required to make one. An Alepúe woman commented, while figuring out the price she should ask for a choapino, "Last year [1945] we were paid 25 pesos for a kilo of wool in San José de Mariquina. It takes the price of many kilos of wool to buy the dyes that Chileans want us to use when we weave for them. My husband bought me these dyes recently [about a heaping tablespoonful each of red, green, and black]. He paid 15 pesos for each [50 cents in U. S. money]. I shall use these dyes when dyeing wool for choapino, and shall probably make little profit when I sell them. I dyed the wool for the choapino that I made yesterday in bark and roots that I collected in the woods. These, of course, cost us nothing, but those Chileans want brighter colors than bark and roots produce." A Panguipulli woman said with determination, "I will make no more choapino. It takes much wool to make one; consequently, the cost rises, and no one wants to buy them. A poncho is quickly made, and persons are willing to pay a good price for one. So I make ponchos."

464 In the spring, when food supplies stored from the previous harvest are sometimes low, or have given out entirely, men, both old and young, go to the wooded areas, fell trees, and haul them for sale to lumber camps. In every area a few young women augment the family's cash income by working as domestics in Chilean homes. Men occasionally hire out at harvest time. An occasional one obtains cash for hides of trapped skunks which he sells to Chileans.

426 Money is occasionally borrowed from Chilean firms with mortgages for the loan being placed on oxen, land, or cattle—preferably on oxen. In Alepúe area both land and oxen were mortgaged for loans made either from firms known as Caja de Ahorros (savings banks) located at San José de Mariquina and Valdivia, or from private persons. Periodically men come from the banks to brand with their own brand the horns of oxen or cattle on which they hold a mortgage. Occa-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

231 417 The Government will not allow trees to be cut for fence making, and newly fallen trees are needed for firewood. Persons who need fences must, therefore, buy slats at lumber mills in the area—something few Araucanians can afford.

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

231 In post-Columbian and pre-Argentine days each family owned a herd of domesticated horses to which tamed wild ones were added occasionally. Tamed wild cattle were also added to domesticated herds. Other domesticated animals were sheep, pigs, dogs, cats, and chickens, and, in recent years, turkeys and geese. Today an occasional family has a few goats.

[422] Animals were not branded. "Every owner knew his own, and everyone else knew to whom the animals belonged. The animals, too, knew where they belonged for they always came home no matter how far away they strayed. They do that today." The interpreter, born and reared in Patagonia, knew this to be true.

[552] Oxen are given names when being trained to haul. Names of pairs owned by informants were Valiente (valiant) and Parece (similar); Navegando (navigating) and Marenero (sailor); Coronel (colonel) and Cuidado (solicitude); Principio (beginning) and Recuerdo (remembrance).

A pre-Argentine breed of chicken (pio) known to non-Araucanians as the "Araucanian chicken" was seen about many homes. Three characteristics distinguish them: body feathers are of several colors; the head is tufted with feathers; and the shells of their eggs are pastel shades of blue, greenish blue, green, and yellowish pink. "That speckled gray-white hen over there with the tuft on her head lays bluish eggs; that one with the mixture of yellow, black, and red feathers lays yellowish-pink eggs." Chickens are fattened on the berries of michai. "Whenever I want to fatten one, I tell her [small daughter] to take it to where the berries of michai hang low. Chickens certainly know how to feed on those berries."

TRADE, EXCHANGE, CASH INCOME

● 439 The oldest informants recalled the days when the trade of the Araucanians extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Horses were traded with Pampa Indians of the Argentine plains and with Whites as far as Buenos Aires; cattle were traded with Whites as far as Valdivia in Chile; none remembered the days of trade with peoples to the north, the Guaraní, Quechua, and Aymara. Non-Araucanian informants,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

however, conversant with the literature of early travelers in South America say that trade was carried on with these peoples, especially the Guaraní; that the Guaraní, living in what is now southern Brazil and Paraguay, plied the tributaries to the delta of the La Plata River trading with the Araucanians who lived among them. That trade existed with peoples to the north, possibly the Quechua and Aymara, is conjectured, also, because recently airplane pilots who flew the length of the Andes in Argentina reported having observed what may have been a pre-Columbian trade route between the Araucanians as far south as Bariloche and the Aymara and Quechua in what is Peru and Bolivia today. In more recent times trade was carried on mainly across the Andes. 439

Passes across the Andes of the early days, still used by Araucanians today, are the Vuriloche Pass in the Bariloche area; the Tromen Pass from Junín de los Andes (Argentina) to Pucón (Chile); and one from Zapala area (Argentina) to El Arco (Chile). (Cf. also pp. 261-262 on passes through the Andes.) A footpath along the shores of Lake Quillen is said to be nearly a yard deep. The Vuriloche Pass, because of its low altitude, was the one generally used for the transfer of cattle. Kolupan had helped to drive cattle for sale from his home on the pampa through the passes of the Cordillera into Chile. Swamps in any pass were bridged by trees felled for the purpose. Old people had heard in their youth of a tunnel that led under the Andes. On the Argentine side it was entered at Lake Negro or Cajon Negro. "People have looked for it in recent times, but cannot find it." 439 491

Most frequently trading was by barter. Cattle sold to Araucanians or Whites in Chile, however, were paid for in silver coins known as pesos fuertes (the size of an American silver dollar). Since there was no immediate use for silver, except in making silver ornaments, the pesos fuertes were often either stored in caves or buried. One such cave is said to be on Estancia Huechahue. "Much of the silver could probably be found, but no one today knows where it was buried; the men who buried it have all died," said Kolupan. Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians noted that silver found in Chile in the early days was brought there in trade by the Quechua and the Aymara; that gold, which was used in trade much later than silver, was mined in what is now Argentina, one gold mine having existed in Chos Malál. 439

Although trade today is still often by barter, Argentine currency is a necessity. At the time the present study was being made, items bought with currency by Araucanians were clothing, sugar, yerba maté, flour, kitchen utensils, schoolbooks, wine, araucaria nuts, and dyes. Currency, too, is needed to pay dentist and doctor bills. Articles, 436

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

around the olla (or iron kettle, today) in which the food had been cooked, or the large wooden dish from which each served himself. Many families squat in similar manner today; an occasional one eats seated at a table. 264

Women cooked the meals. Today, as formerly, an old woman when cooking follows the tradition of wearing her shawl. No reason for this was known. 252 462

Drinking water was taken from an uncontaminated spring, either at its source or from a creek formed by it and known to be uncontaminated. (Pls. 62, *1*; 72, *1*.) Homes were located only where there was an uncontaminated source of water. 271 312 361

Beverages in the early days consisted of mudai and of refreshing decoctions made from leaves and blossoms of paico and bark of maqui. Mudai was made by fermenting quinoa and neneo, cultivated small grain and corn, or araucaria nuts. These were either chewed by older women or crushed on a metate and then allowed to stand until fermented. Mudai is rarely drunk as a beverage today; if it is, it is made from cooked wheat. 272

Chicha (pulku), an alcoholic drink, was made of berries of mulwin (unidentified), parrilla, and michai, and of wild apples. A 70-year-old man had made chicha from apples in the following way, a way used in making chicha from berries also: Apples were picked, placed in a 5- to 6-yard-long dugout, and immediately mashed by hitting them with poles. The dugout was made of hardwood, generally roble. The mashed apples were poured into calfskin containers in which holes had been previously poked, and the containers hung over the dugout. Each container was then pressed between two poles to force the flow of juice, which was retained in unperforated calfskin containers until it became chicha. 273

I observed a 59-year-old woman making chicha from berries of parrilla and michai. "I can pick these berries everywhere in the valleys of these mountains; I have no way of getting wild apples." She mashed bowlfuls of the berries by hand and poured them into an unperforated hide container that she had made by fastening the ends of the hide to two poles a short distance apart. As soon as the juice had fermented to suit her taste, she pressed a finely woven külko (basket) into the mash and let the juice collect in it. Since Argentine law today requires a permit for the making of chicha, little of it is made by Araucanians; wine has replaced chicha.

A favorite beverage today is yerba maté, a non-Araucanian tea made of imported leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*. It is taken by adults and 272 [429]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

used to tamp down the fields following the harrowing, but this is now somewhat rare.

Three plowings, widely spaced, followed by seeding and harrowing (and rolling) is the stated ideal to which various accommodations are made. This holds for the coastal, the central, and the Andean zones. The exigencies of weather, along with poor drainage, generally prevent the ideal pattern from being realized.

If a three-field system is adhered to, the initial preparation of *barbecho* may take place in the spring (October-November), when the soil is not too wet, and the second plowing is done in the immediate postharvest season (March), at which time sowing may take place. It is during March, especially, that land is also cleared of stubble and brush by burning. Fires may be seen over the countryside day and night. Sometimes these get out of control, causing damage to buildings and recently harvested crops. Indeed, stacks of chaff (*muelles de paja*) are often set afire purposely, rather than saved, since wheat chaff is considered inferior fodder.

For the most part, preplanting preparations are nearly completed by the middle of April, but because of early rains some planting has to be postponed until there is a temporary break in the weather. According to traditional belief, such a time comes late in June (around St. John's Day), and those farmers who failed to sow before the heavy rains came count heavily on this expectation. To a certain extent, the planting of spring wheat would forestall such a risk, but the practice is generally unknown to the Mapuche.

Wheat is the principal crop on most reservations and is sown in March, April, and May, depending on weather and soil conditions, and harvested in January and February. Oats are grown in a ratio of 1:6 to wheat. They are primarily a cash crop, not being valued as food by the Mapuche, and represent risk capital in a limited sense. If too much rain spoils the oat crop, reducing its commercial value, the harvest is used for winter fodder rather than sold. Oats and wheat, which contain large amounts of wild seeds, such as *arvejilla*, *yuyo*, *rébano*, and chicory, also have little commercial value and are withheld from market.

Some quinoa is grown in small amounts for the home manufacture of *mudai* (a beverage), and oca is raised, at least in the Andean foothills, where it serves as a substitute for potatoes. Melons, squash, and cucumbers, while grown locally, do not figure importantly in the in-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ventory of *chacarería* on the reservations, but are sometimes raised by Chilean farmers. Within the last few years, some Mapuche near Temuco have begun to grow sunflowers in small amounts wholly for sale. Manure fertilizer is used to enrich the garden crops, but *chacarería* such as peas, beans, and potatoes are not fertilized if grown in large quantity in the fields.

Since 1949 the province has been suffering from a severe potato blight which has literally reduced to near starvation some of the reservation groups living in the coastal zone where potatoes are of great importance and once formed a major part of the diet. Mapuche living in the Central Valley, where wheat is the principal crop, have been less affected. In the Andean region, where the blight seems not to have been as devastating, and where oca is something of a substitute for potatoes, the blight's effects have not been very serious.

Harvesting techniques range from hand-sickle operations to combine harvesting. While the former is practiced by virtually every Mapuche farmer, at least for part of his crops, the latter practice is rarely encountered on the reservations. A combine is used only when provided by a Chilean farmer who is working in half-shares with an Indian. However, ox-drawn harvesters (*epicadoras*) are rather widely used in the Central Valley reservations. They are used primarily for harvesting wheat and are rented to individual Mapuche farmers by *fundo* owners or entrepreneurs who live in the towns. As the harvest operations get under way, harvesters tour the region outlying Temuco and other towns. They are rented for a percentage of the harvest, rather than for cash. Threshing machines are also made available to Mapuche under similar conditions.

There is a pronounced receptivity to "modern" farm machinery among the Mapuche. Although the rented equipment usually clears a field in a few hours at most, which otherwise would have taken an individual family several days to harvest by hand, the rental price seems out of proportion to the labor saved (and is often immediately regretted by the Mapuche), especially in view of the fact that the harvest returns may be as little as 3 or 4:1, as they were in both 1952 and 1953 in many parts of the reservation area. Indeed, returns are sometimes so small that family members scour a harvested field for spikes of wheat untouched by the machine and salvage grain left on the ground after the threshing machine moves to another part of the reservation. On three or four hectares of land, these gleanings may

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded with oak trees (*robles*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation. Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet construction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was founded in 1881. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *parceleros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of charcoal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local resource.

Up until 1948 large parts of the region were covered by a thick growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautín Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land was thereby cleared for agriculture.

The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this century (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic and infrequent, occurring mostly on the substandard land – the hillsides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Valley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or otherwise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found. The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

Alonqueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho region, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonqueo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an *inquilino* (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various *radicados* makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Llancaman. Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are cultivated, 90 are *vega* and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the rest either *vega* that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura*, but the ratio of *vega* and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the *vega* that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Toltén region as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura*. In the *baja*, potatoes and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast, there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market. Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 5 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 17 horses, and 234 sheep, in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before the *radicación*, cattle and sheep were far more important than crops in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chacarería*, and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered. Some use was made of fish from the Toltén River, but ocean resources were not tapped.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former settlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Originally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from the other houses — that of the original chief. All houses were built on *altura* land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Religious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an expanding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequently used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation, double the original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to 82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families. The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been mentioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual — less than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large-scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population increases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will eventually be put under production. One way this could happen is through government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery

[i.e. Llancaman-- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

tain. Interest rates are sometimes in excess of 100 per cent. For the most part, the Mapuche are ill at ease and naive in market and credit operations.

Markets are available to all reservation Mapuche, although the Indians near the provincial capital, Temuco, and the larger secondary towns have stronger ties to the regional markets and are more frequently involved in a greater-than-reservation economic structure.

The railroad which runs through the Central Valley from north to south, and the several branch lines running east and west, service the Mapuche areas. In addition, there are a number of all-weather roads connecting the reservations with the regional markets. The remoter reservations are linked to the better roads, where trucks and buses are available, by ox roads and foot trails which, for the most part, are not passable in the wet winter months. Because of poor transportation, for example, Mapuche are sometimes unable to sell firewood during the winter months, at a time when their food reserves are ebbing, cash is much needed, and there is a demand for firewood in the towns.

As a rule, Mapuche tend to sell garden produce, apples, barnyard fowl, a few pigs and sheep for the purpose of obtaining small amounts of cash for immediate use. There is always a seasonal abundance, but little or no thought of stretching it out over the year. This results in the paradox of postharvest surpluses in an economy of bare subsistence. These sales, however, enable the Indians to buy lard, kerosene, pots, plates, knives, etc., and "luxuries" such as matches, mate (Parguayan "tea"), cigarettes, wine, clothing, and other items which represent rather newly acquired needs. One sees both men and women carrying their wares to town on trucks and buses or in oxcarts. A single chicken may be carried more than 20 kilometers and sold to make a small cash purchase.

Credit is scarce. For most purchases, the Mapuche is required to pay *al contado*, or cash on the barrelhead. This is especially so for small purchases, such as the items listed above, for there are very few storekeepers who are willing to keep credit accounts for Mapuche. Shopkeepers regard them as poor risks either because they are felt to be generally untrustworthy or because they are too poor to be able to liquidate their credit within a reasonably short time.

Nevertheless, Mapuche are able to raise cash or obtain seeds through credit negotiations under certain circumstances. Agents from the towns make a tour of the country in the preharvest season to in-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

framework of traditional values and institutions, and wants to change at his own pace—and mainly with respect to the acquisition of economic goods. Whatever the cumulative effect of this attitude might be on Mapuche social structure and cultural values, it is yet to be observed.

That religion is one of the forces most suited to mold the world view of individuals is recognized both by the Mapuche and by Chilean missionaries. The failure of the Christian ideal to take hold among the Mapuche is testimony to the successful integration of Mapuche society and its system of values, for religion provides the framework in which the general inculcation of traditional values, attitudes, and procedures is accomplished. Four hundred years of missionary work, economic imperialism, and even ultimate military defeat have failed to crack the hard shell of Mapuche religious morality. The Araucanian language, in which these values are expressed (and which for this reason is banned in the reservation schools), is still the language of the home. Even Chilean merchants have learned to figure accounts in Araucanian, and they inject Araucanian words into their sales talk. All preschool age Mapuche and most adult women are essentially monolingual in Araucanian, the language of thought for almost every Mapuche. Children are jokingly called "old people" because they know little or no Spanish. And during and after the few years of formal reservation school, youngsters are reeducated at home. There is a general rejection of Chilean values and procedures, patent in an undercurrent of constant ridicule and in a strong feeling of pan-Mapuche, ethnic solidarity, vis-à-vis Chilean society. Even in the sphere of economic activity, some of the traditional communal aspects of economic life persist. Mapuche ritual appears both as an expression of this social and ethnic solidarity and as its single most stabilizing and integrating force.

III

Religious beliefs centering in ancestral propitiation largely define normative behavior and constitute therefore moral rules of Mapuche society. It might be said that a function of ritual belief is the establishment of limits to possible variation in social action. Where beliefs persist or change in a manner consistent with traditional values, the social institutions which reflect these beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

A Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named
● 439 Juan Antonio, who acted as interpreter. This little man, who
609 had originally come from what he called his 'Pago,' somewhere in the vicinity of Porto Montt, bringing liquor to trade with the Indians, had concluded to remain with them, esteeming himself to be better off as a poor man in the Pampas in company with Indians, than in the like station in the settlements. He of course spoke the Araucanian language, which is generally used in Valdivia, but was conversant with the Spanish tongue. Off his horse he was a miserable little specimen of a man, and though tolerated by Quintuhual, was looked upon as what Spaniards term 'Infelix,' or unfortunate one.

T A 648 After a while the council broke up, but Crimé arriving with the ten expected toldos, was resumed the following day; Quintuhual finally agreeing to unite his party with the Tehuelches, and proceed under Casimiro's banner to Las Manzanas.

A 361 The Chilote Juan Antonio paid us a visit in the evening,
224 and informed us that the toldos had been several months in this place, which was named Engel-kaik; the men having been absent hunting, first the young guanaco, and afterwards catching and taming cattle in the Cordillera.

A 224 By his account these Indians were great adepts with the lazo, and would gallop through the forests in chase of animals in the most wonderful manner; one man only being required to catch and secure an animal, and then proceeding to capture another. How different from our dreadful failure, where seven men could not lazo one animal!

He further stated that with Foyel's Indians, who were distant a few marches to the north, eight Valdivians had for the last two years been employed catching cattle, and having now succeeded in getting together a herd of about eighty A head, intended shortly to return to Valdivia.

411 The third day after our arrival I visited the toldos of our new allies; and while talking to one of the principal Indians, named Malakon, who could speak a little Spanish, was asked

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

antecedent was carefully avoided, and instead of it our party occupied a damp and even sloppy site on the borders of a small stream that lost itself in a large marsh farther to the east, while the Araucanians had selected a better spot a little higher up the valley. The following day we hunted over some hills in the vicinity of the mountains, and killed a great quantity of ostriches, scarcely a man coming home without a good supply of meat.

On March 5, early in the morning, whilst most of us were rounding up our horses, others smoking at the fireside, some men appeared in the distance with several horses, one of which appeared to be loaded. In a moment many Indians were away to meet the new comers, and one came back at speed to inform us that they were Manzanero Indians bringing liquor to trade with. They proceeded to Quintuhual's toldo, one of them being a connection of the chief, and there dismounted, unloading their horse of two sheepskins filled with rum. Great was the rejoicing amongst the Indians, and large the crowd that soon collected round Quintuhual's toldo, carefully keeping at a respectable distance. Casimiro and myself were shortly sent for, and on riding over were invited to preside at the commencement of the festival. On our dismounting, in company with several of the other caciques, four lances were planted in the ground (one having a white weft or poncho placed on it), and the chiefs, each taking a horn or pannikin containing a very little rum, marched round the lances muttering an incantation and sprinkling a little liquor on the ground, also on the lances as they passed. This ceremony was repeated twice, a select body of old women attending to sing and cry, to assist in frightening away the evil spirit. After this my brother, who appeared to be master of the ceremonies, handed pannikins of grog round, and all were soon very convivial. After taking a glass or two I retired, in company with Orkeke and Hinchel, neither of whom was inclined to drink much, owing to the possibility of a disturbance. The rest of the party then began to buy

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

drink, as the first free allowance was stopped, and in a short time many were in an advanced stage of intoxication, amongst whom was our head chief. The terms of barter were a mantle or unbroken colt for two bottles of villainous Valdivian rum, which was, as the Tehuelches agreed, a very exorbitant price; but inasmuch as the dealers left it free for them either to go without or pay up, the liquor was soon finished and the merchants possessed of some eighteen new mantles and a good number of mares and colts. The artful Tehuelches, however, during the ensuing night, stole back a portion of the mantles, an dhumbugged the Araucanians about the horses, professing not to be able to catch them. Everything went on quietly until about three P.M., when a fight took place, but the combatants were disarmed. From this up to eight P.M., Quintuhual, Orkeke, and many of the people who had kept sober, were occupied in quelling disturbances, Casimiro being as bad as any, and sending for his gun wherewith to shoot some imagined enemy, which I fortunately intercepted, and after plugging up the nipples hid it behind the toldo. There was little sleep to be obtained till nearly morning, when the inebriated ones laid down anywhere and everywhere to sleep off their potations. The following morning Casimiro awoke with a bad headache and bad temper, and commenced talking about something that had been said to him the previous day, on which I informed him that he must have no shame left in him to get so intoxicated, and that no Indians could respect a chief who was the first to set an evil example by wishing to create a disturbance, while Quintuhual had remained sober, taking care of his people as became a chief, and that he (Casimiro) should have done the same. This raised the ire of the ancient monarch, who answered in a most impolite manner, so much so, that to avoid a row I left him to his bad head and quitted the toldo till he should be in a better frame of mind. Shortly after this little episode we broke up the camp and marched a few miles to the north. Having been detained by a missing horse, I did not start with

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

CHAPTER VII.

LAS MANZANAS.

Catching a Thief—Miss Foyel—Start for Las Manzanas—First View of the Apple Groves—Omens of War—Inacayal's Tuilderia—Crossing the Rio Limay—Mr. Cox's Shipwreck—Lemketrou's Raid—A Night of Alarm—Bravery of my Cousins—The Great Chocoque—A Mounted Parliamento—Apples and Pifiones—Gravisl's Madness—Las Manzanas—Chocoque's Palace—The Revels—Feuds between the Chiefs—The Picunches and the Passes to Valdivia—Trading and Politics—Resolutions of Peace—A Grand Banquet—Power of Chocoque—Araucanian Customs—Farewell Presents—Invitation to Return—Orkeke's Generosity—Return to Geylum—Outbreak of an Epidemic—My Pretty Page—Departure from Geylum.

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THE day after our arrival at Geylum, Manzaneros or Araucanians arrived from the north with cider of their own manufacture stored in sheep skins, apples, and pifiones, to trade; and a scene of debauchery ensued, as usual. At night an attempt, nearly successful, was made to rob our toldo: one of the women, however, was awake, and heard the thief endeavouring to get into the back of the sleeping places where some newly-finished mantles were stored; she gave the alarm to two of the men, and they endeavoured to catch the would-be intruder, who, hearing the alarm raised, started off at speed, not without receiving a cut from a knife which marked him deeply on his shoulder; and, what was worse, being recognised as he ran off.

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Foyel invited me to drink at his expense, but I merely stayed in his toldo long enough for the observance of

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

T A 648 farther north; also to consider Calfcura's message concerning a raid on Bahia Blanca, and the Buenos Ayrean frontier generally.

One of the principal persons present at the parlemento was a chief subordinate to Chocoque, named Mafulko; a fine-looking old man, magnificently dressed in ponchos which, as well as his arms, were profusely ornamented, indeed almost covered, with silver; he was remarkable for a most stentorian voice, which when raised in discussion became an absolute roar, as of a bull of Bashan. He afterwards noticed me particularly, and was very courteous, pressing me to come and visit him in his own country, A which lay to the northward of the Snowy Mountain.

567 In his train was a man who accosted me in pure Spanish, stating that he had read and translated my letter, and warning me that these Indians hated the name of Spaniard. Before I could make any inquiries he was called away; but, when in Patagones, questions were asked as to an unfortunate settler who was a captive and slave amongst the Araucanians, and the description tallied exactly with that of the poor Spaniard. His master was, doubtless, fearful of recognition and mediation on my part, so hastened to interrupt A our colloquy.

● 439 We dispersed and bivouacked in the neighbourhood of 137 Chocoque's toldos, where animals were lanced and slain for our immediate wants; and Manzaneros and Picunche Indians came round bartering pifiones, apples, and now and then a little flour, for knives, bolas, &c. The pifiones were some in husks and some ready husked, the white almond-like kernels, about the size of dates, being strung on threads; and, whether roasted like chestnuts in their husks or boiled, proved delicious. The apples also were deliciously fresh and juicy, and I considered a score of them fairly purchased for T A a pair of bolas, although my comrades declared I had been cheated by the Picunche thieves.

439 Towards evening Chocoque sent over to say that, as it

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

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was late and disturbances might occur, he considered it would be better not to allow any liquor to be sold until the following day, when all arms might be stored in a safe place, and anybody who felt disposed to get drunk might do so with comfort. To this Casimiro agreed, further assuring me, in the most positive manner, that *he* would keep sober. Whilst we were sitting by the fireside, a bird, exactly resembling our well-known nightjar, flew over our heads, uttering its peculiar grating cry; the Indians all looked startled, asserting that it was a sign of ill luck, and that whenever this bird croaked in the vicinity of an assembly of people some one was sure to fall sick or die. Their superstitious belief in the ill-omened bird received a confirmation, for in the middle of the night, while asleep by the fire, I was roused by Graviel, who, shaking my arm and shouting 'Let us go, let us go!' rushed away from the firelight into the dark night. His father and myself followed him, and after a long chase caught and, with difficulty, mastered him. He was raving mad, struggling violently, and vociferating incoherent nonsense. When the fit had passed off, his exhaustion and prostration were so great that all thought he would die; but he recovered for the time.

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At break of day we were all on the alert; and as the evening previously we had been too tired and hungry to observe the scenery, I proceeded to reconnoitre the locality generally. To my great surprise, the head-quarters of Chocoque consisted but of four toldos, belonging to the chief and his brother-in-law, the men who had received us having come from distant residences unaccompanied by their wives, and bivouacking, like ourselves, in the open air. The scene of the encampment was a valley running east and west, the western end being apparently shut in by some high mountains, spurs of the Cordillera. A good stream watered this valley, which was everywhere more or less wooded: away to the north-west, about four miles distant, the apple-groves might be seen; these trees had, however, already been

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2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
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Picunches

occasion some fighting ensued. Thereupon Foyel sent Cheoeque a defiant message to the effect that if any more robberies by his subjects took place, he should make reprisals; that the latter chief must have imagined that he (Foyel) had forgotten how to ride and use his lance. All this was subsequently amicably settled, but in the end Foyel, who was by right under the rule of Cheoeque, preferred to throw off his allegiance and retire across the Rio Limay. The chief reason alleged by him was that although Cheoeque received large rations of cattle from the Buenos Ayrean Government, he never thought fit to share them with his subordinate chiefs. How far these stories were true I cannot say; as to the Picunches and their subjection to Cheoeque, the Valdivians had been detained over a year waiting for a safe-conduct, which was obtained on the eve of our arrival, and as far as could be afterwards ascertained, they passed unmolested, although probably suffering loss of cattle from the weather, as it was full late in the year to cross the passes, which during the winter are obstructed by snow and swollen rivers. Antonio and Ventura Delgado assured me that they would have to cross one river seven times owing to its tortuous windings, and on every occasion be obliged to swim their animals. This I had first fancied to be a branch of the Rio Limay, but in answer to other inquiries the Valdivians stated that it flowed to the westward. *Apropos* of this route, an enterprising German had some short time previously crossed from Valdivia to trade with the Indians; he was allowed to pass unmolested with all his merchandise, and drove a profitable trade, and at last started on his return journey with a goodly stock of horses and gear, but near the passes he was stripped of everything and left to make his way homewards on foot if possible. It was very tantalizing to be so near Valdivia and not to be able to explore the route thither and visit the Picunches, and indeed Casimiro and myself had planned a trip from Las Manzanas, but it was abandoned, owing to the lateness of the season and

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

other circumstances, combined with my own conviction that if the cacique got into Valdivia he would not be able to tear himself away from civilized pleasures for a long period.

After the drinking bout and the departure of Foyel's party, a day devoted to trading intervened, political discussions being postponed in consequence of the indisposition of Casimiro, who required twenty-four hours to recover from the effects of Cheoeque's hospitality. Our Tehuelches, thanks to the profuse generosity of Cheoeque, disposed of all their wares to advantage, and became the happy possessors of numerous horses, silver ornaments, and mandils. Had it been necessary for them to purchase liquor, they would have returned empty-handed and in bad tempers. The Manzaneros appeared to depend on the Tehuelches for their supply of toldo coverings, just as the latter in their turn must procure from them the woven mandils and ponchos. I noticed that the horses brought up for sale by the Manzaneros more resembled those used in the Argentine States than the breed common amongst the Tehuelches, showing finer points and greater speed for racing on flats, but being inferior in the staying powers requisite for hunting.

The second parlemento or council, attended by numerous chiefs, was duly held, in which Mariano Linares, brother of the chief of the Indians in pay of the Government, participated. He was a connection by marriage of Cheoeque's, and had been despatched from Patagones to induce him to keep the peace. The speeches of the Araucanos were made in a peculiar chant, intoned in fact, in a manner closely resembling that I have since heard in some churches at home. Cheoeque thus intoned a harangue, setting forth how chiefs had come to him from Araucania proper, soliciting his aid in the war with Chili. He had at first refused to receive them, but at last had heard what they had to say, and it was probable that he might send a small force to assist his countrymen.

Calfcura's message relating to the foray on the settlements